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THE CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

THE THEOLOGY OF THE BULGARIAN BOGOMILS

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY

OF THE CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

BACHELOR OF DIVINITY

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY

BY

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JUNE, 1937

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THE THEOLOGY OF THE BULGARIAN BOGOMILS

BY

ZAPRIAN D. VIDOLOFF

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PART I - DOGMATIC THEOLOGY

CHAPTER I

GOD

In every theology the concept of God is the first and the most important factor. According to the Orthodox Christian theology, based upon the book of Genesis:

> "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth and the earth was without form....." [1]

But according to the Bogomil teaching, it is not so. God did not create the earth. The earth, the world, the visible and temporal things are bad, evil, and they were created by an evil god. Let us see how this was accomplished.

The theological conceptions were formulated, as we stated before, in a process of contradiction of against the Byzantine state Christianity. These concepts were erected upon a background supplied by the previous experience of the oppressed populations within the Empire. This is especially obvious concerning the concept of God. The belief that the good God was not creator of the material world had as foundation the following background:

1. The Eastern dualistic background. The very first document, which brings to us the fact of their existence, the letter of the Patriarch Theophilact to the Bulgarian King Peter, accuses the Bogomils of dualism. That the dualistic

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1. Dr. J. M. Powers Smith's translation reads: "When God began to create the heaven and the earth, the earth was a desolate waste...."

PART I - DOGMATIC THEOLOGY

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GOD

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The theological assumptions were formulated, or as stated before, in a process of combination of mystical Christianity and Greek philosophy. There concepts were created upon a predetermined background supplied by the previous experience of the baptized populations within the Empire. This is especially curious considering the concept of God. To belief that the good God was not creator of the material world had an foundation the following background:

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teachings of the Manichaeans, Paulicians and the Massilians have been embodied in the teaching of the "newly appeared "sect," there is no doubt.[1] In the first point of his advice to the King, the Patriarch writes:

> "He who speaks and believes that there are two beginnings, good and evil; and that one is the creator of the light and another of the night; one of the men and another of the angels and the rest of the animals, let him be anathematized."[2]

In the tenth point the Patriarch continues:

> "The leaders and the teachers of this old and new appeared heresy are anathematized."[3]

Presbyter Kozma, in accusing the Bogomils of depriving God from his creative qualities, writes:

> "When they pray, they say: 'Our Father who art in heaven.' But here also they must be sentenced, because, by words they call the Creator of the heaven and earth 'Father,' but his creation account as creation of the devil."[4]

From these early documents on the subject we can judge that this "newly appeared" heresy at the very beginning of its movement has manifested some dualistic views borrowed from its

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[1]D. Mishev, The Bulgarians in the Past (Lausanne, 1919), p. 59.
Yordan Ivanoff, Bogomilski Knigi i Legendi (Sofia, 1925), p. 33.
I. G. Klincharoff, Pop Bogomil i Negovoto Vreme (Sofia, 1927), p. 40.
D. Tzuhlev, Istoria na Bulgarskata Tserkva, I (Sofia, 1910), p. 676.
V. N. Zlatarsky, Istoria na Bulgarskata Darjava, I part 2 (Sofia, 1927), p. 555.
Matthew Spinka, A History of Christianity in the Balkans, (Chicago: The American Society of Church History 1933), p. 62.

[2]Zlatarsky, op. cit., p. 843.

[3]Ibid., p. 844.

[4]Dr. Kiselkoff, p. 24.

neighbors. According to these documents the Bogomils believed in two creative forces in the universe, which are in constant struggle between themselves.[1]

2. The Slavic pagan background. But the Bogomil movement was a Bulgarian one, or better to say a Slavic one, because the Bulgarian component had almost disappeared in the majority of the Slavic element of the Bulgarian nation. The previous religious and social ideas of the Slavic majority, surely, have contributed a great portion to the ideas of the new movement.

The old Slavs believed in a good god (the Belbog - the white god), and in a bad god (the Cherbog - the black god). The first god was the chief of the good spirits, the angels, while the second god was the chief of the bad spirits, the devils.[2] Prof. Zlatarsky goes further to say that not only the previous national beliefs were to be found in the new faith, but many of the previous national pagan rites and ceremonies as well.[3] The apostles of the new movement were nearer to the national interests. They understood the people's soul better than the Orthodox priests, most of whom were Greeks, or Greek pupils, or Greek partisans. Here is the secret why the Bogomil theology found so deep acceptance in the Slavic soul.

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[1] Klincharoff, op. cit., p. 47.

[2] Zlatarsky, op. cit., pp. 556-7.

[3] Ibid., p. 557.
D. Tzuhlev, Istoria na Bulgarskata Tserkva, I (Sofia, 1910), pp. 675-6.
Klincharoff, op. cit., p. 64.
Mishev, op. cit., p. 60.

But if the Orthodox Christians would come with the Bible against the Bogomils, these latter would come with the Gospel also. If they were dualists, and Slavic nationalists, they were no less Christians. They pretended to know and to interpret the Bible better than the Orthodox Christians.

CHAPTER II

JESUS CHRIST AND THE HOLY SPIRIT

The idea of the second and the third persons of God in the Bogomil theology, seems to be not well appreciated and not well developed. The appearance of Jesus was not real, but seeming and imaginary. The Son and the Holy Spirit were born from the Father. But there was a time when they were not in existence. Here we see the direct influence of the Arianism come down through the centuries. The teaching against the Trinity was noticed and attacked by the earliest opponents of the Bogomils. Thus, in the fifth point of the letter to King Peter, Patriarch Theophilact writes:

> "For them, who blaspheme and say that the One in the Holy Trinity, the Son, the Word of God-the-Father became a man without sin in imagination and seeming, but not in reality, let him be anathema."[1]

In the sixth paragraph of the same letter it is said again that there were those who believed that the cross and the death of Christ were not real.[2]

Presbyter Kozma does not say much about the attitude of the Bogomils towards the second and the third persons of Trinity except that they accounted Christ as the first Son of God, while other critics held the opposite.[3] Then Presbyter Kozma

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[1] V. N. Zlatarsky, op. cit., p. 843.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Yordan Ivanoff, op. cit., p. 25, the second footnote.

goes further to blame Arius who did not believe in the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, and Sabellius who taught that on the cross in the body of Jesus the entire Trinity has suffered. Furthermore, he criticizes the teaching of Macedonius, saying:

> "But Macedonius blasphemed the Holy Spirit, thinkthing that it is lower than the Father and the Son, and that it is not of the same divinity."[1]

The above words of Kozma indicate that he saw clearly in the teaching of his contemporary heresy fragments of previous teaching which were already disproved and sentenced by the official Christian church.

Euthymius Zigabenus gives us more material on the subject. He attacks the Bulgarian Bogomils in the following words:

> "About the Son and the Holy Spirit they say, that they will return again to the Father from whence they had come to be dissolved, and this tri-person which has been in existence from the year five thousand, after thirty-three years have passed once more it will become one person, bodiless but anthropomorphic. Alas! Oh! What a wide ridicule. If it is bodiless, how can it be anthropomorphic?" (Paragraph 3).

Then he continues:

> "They say that there is neither Son, nor the Holy Spirit until the year five thousand five hundred; from that time they began to exist, and named, according to the gospel of John which speaks in a loud voice saying: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God'; the Word is equal with the E V E R (Tw Aei). But if the Word was always in the Father, then the Holy Spirit also coexists with the Father, for neither is our spoken word found without spirit. But they say that the Father exists without the Son till the year five thousand five hundred; but then this is illogical and unwise, and it is impos-

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[1] Dr. Kiselkoff, p. 5.

sible to dogmatize...." (Paragraph 4).

> "They say that the Father begot the Holy Spirit and this spiritually begot Judah, and also the twelve apostles, and they quote the passage from the gospel saying: 'Abraham begot Isaac; Isaac begot Jacob; Jacob begot Judah and his brothers'; they maintain that this has been written about the Holy Trinity. First, then, not only the Son but they add a grandson, and not only a grandson, but also twelve great-grand-sons as far as the father. And if the Son is father, the Holy Spirit is in turn father, behold three Fathers. How, then, in dogmatizing they confess one Father? And again, if the Holy Spirit is the Son of the Son, behold here also two Sons. And how in the theology of the Trinity they confess one Son? (Paragraph 5).

As Zigabenus understood the teaching of the Bogomils concerning Christ, they maintained that in about 5500 years ago, God brought forth the Logos, of his own heart, the Son of God. This Son or Word of God, the Bogomils affirmed to be the Archangel Michael. For it is said: 'His name is called angel of the mighty will.' He is called archangel because he is more divine than the rest of the angels; He is called Jesus, because he cures all ills and diseases; and Christ, because he was christened in the flesh. He came from above and entered into the right ear of the Virgin and was seemingly incarnated in the flesh, like man's flesh, but in truth it was immaterial and divine-like. And he came out immediately from where he entered. The Virgin did not know either of his entrance or his existence, but simply found him in the cave in swaddling clothes. She only performed the duties of a human nurse, and made and taught what has been recorded in the gospels. Except for the sufferings which are subject to man's imagination was crucified and died, and seemingly rose, revealing

the scene and exposing the drama, and by casting off will confuse (Satanael) the apostate, and will fasten him to a stout and heavy pillory, and will make him a victim of Tartarus, and will subtract from his name the "E L", which means "Angelic." Having been called Satanael, he will then on be known as Satan. Therefore, having fulfilled the undertaking he will return to the Father, and will sit at the right hand on the throne of the fallen Satanael. Then he will enter from whence he came out, and will return again to the Father by whom he was in the beginning locked up in his belly.[1]

Whether the Bogomils held this extreme view, it is impossible to be verified, but briefly said, they believed that Jesus Christ was the second Son of God and that the Holy Spirit was a latter production of Christ. Christ, after the seeming incarnation, life, death and resurrection, went back to his Father to take the place of his older brother, Satanael.[2] But the final victory over Satanael will be won in the Christ's second coming, when all righteous souls will be brought in the many mansions of the Father.[3]

In this respect, in the field of the good, God is the one eternal person. The other manifestations of God as Son or the Holy Spirit are temporal and conditioned by circumstances.

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[1]Euthymius Zigabenus, Writings in the Dissertation of Demetrios Stylianou (Chicago Theological Seminary, 1929), par. 8.

[2]V. N. Zlatarsky, op. cit., p. 552.

[3]Yordan Ivanoff, op. cit., pp. 27 and 64.

The anti-trinitarian element in the Bogomil teaching seems to be a permanent part of that teaching during the whole long period of their history. This fact can be observed even at the beginning of the thirteenth century, in the time when the Sinodik Tzarya Borila was issued. At this time, the Bogomils, together with the other sects, were still preaching against the trinitarianism of the Orthodox church. For this reason in the Sinodik there are found several anathemas pronounced against the various heretics. Thus we read:

> (4) "To those, who do not believe rightly and devotionally in the Holy, One-essence, Life creative and Indivisible Trinity of the One true God, Anathema."
>
> (5) "All, who make the Son, Our Lord Jesus Christ, lower and unequal with the Eternal Father, Anathema."
>
> (6) "Those, who do not confess the Holy Spirit as equal to the Father and the Son, Anathema."[1]

By the various names given in the same Sinodik like those of Basil the physician, Moses the Bogomil, Alexander the blacksmith, Peter the Cappadocian and many others we see that these anti-trinitarians were at the same time Bogomils.

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[1] Points 4, 5, and 6, summarized by Popruzhenko, Tsuhlev, p. 1069.

CHAPTER III

CREATION OF THE WORLD BY SATANAEL

A great part of the original Bogomil teaching is preserved in the so-called "Tainata Kniga" (The Secret Book).[1] In this book the teaching is exposed in the form of dialogue. It is a conversation between Jesus and St. John. John asks questions and Jesus reveals to him the conditions of the world before the creation of the material world. Jesus tells John how Satanael created the present physical universe and men, and what was the mission of Jesus to this world, and finally how this world will disappear in the second coming of Jesus, who will destroy the Satana and save the righteous people. There are three main divisions in the contents of "Tainata Kniga."

1. The Eternal Spiritual World. It embraces the following parts: the lowest is the bottomless of fire. Above it is the element of water. Then is the earth swimming upon the water, maintained by two gigantic fishes. Above the water and the earth is the air, upon which is stretched out the heavenly dome or firmament. Above the firmament follow one after another the seven heavens, on the top of which dwells the invisible God, the Father. To every one of these parts or spheres there were appointed angels for chiefs or governors. Nearest to God was Jesus, but Satanael was appointed as the highest superintendent over the whole world.

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[1]Yordan Ivanoff, Ibid., pp. 60 and 62.

2. The Creation of the Material World, Satanael, as caretaker of the old world, has had the opportunity to go down to the bottomless pit, and to go up to the throne of God. Observing the glory of God the Father, Satanael wished to remove his headquarters from below to the clouds above and to be like the Almighty. For this purpose he persuaded the angels of the air and the waters to leave god and unite with him to build a new world. To the angels of the first to the fifth heavens he promised to reduce the taxes they owed to God. They united with him also. As soon as God the Father understood this plot, he deprived all the apostates of their merits. Satanael lost his brightness and his face became like the face of a man. Then the fallen Satana drew with himself about one third of the angels. He came down to the firmament with all his comrades and asked God to give him a seven days' time in which to make his own world. God had mercy upon him and gave him that length of time. Then Satanael created this material world.[1] The story then goes on to tell how different parts of the world, the sun, the moon, the stars, the mountains, and so on were created by the help of the evil angels.

Then Satanael created man and the human race and began to govern it. He sent Enoch to bring some books to the earth; then he sent Moses to bring the law. By this manner Satanael became an absolute ruler over the material world and humanity. When God saw this he sent his Son, Jesus , that he might

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[1]Ibid., p. 63.

bring the men back to him. But for this purpose God sent first an angel, Mary by name, to receive Jesus who came down from the seventh heaven to the earth. He came and entered by the ear of Mary and then went out again. To counteract this mission of Jesus, Satanael sent to the earth his own prophet, Elijah, who was called John the Baptist. But the baptism of John did not save the people, because the disciples of John married, had children, and in this way they multiplied the sinners on the earth. Thus, the salvation of humanity will come only by Jesus who baptizes with the Holy Spirit.[1]

3. The second coming of Jesus and the destruction of the material world is the content of the third section of the Secret Book. It tells us about the second coming and redemption of the righteous people, which we shall discuss in Chapter V under the title "Christ as Redeemer."

These dualistic views of the Secret Book of the Bogomils were verified by the investigation of Zigabenus. He affirms their belief in the creation of the world by Satanael by the following statement:

> "They say that Satanael was thrown from above and was not able to sit upon the waters; for 'the earth' it is said, 'was invisible and not formed,' but since at the time he embodied the divine form and wore the garment, and possessed the creative power, he called together all of his lost powers and encouraged them, and said: 'as God created the heaven and the earth' for it is said: 'in the beginning God created the heaven and the earth,' 'I will make a second heaven, as a second God,' and the rest following and said: 'Let there be a firmament, and there was, let there be this and that,' and all of them became. And when he arranged the

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[1] Ibid., p. 64.

> second heaven, he then dried the water off the face of the land, and when he tested it he fixed the places on it, as though they were counted in the book of geneology and having beautified it he viewed it, and created all that grows on land and brought forth the animals, and every other one; he designed this himself and made it a dwelling place for the rebel powers.[1]

In this accusation against the Bogomils Presbyter Kozma is little stronger in his language on this point. He claims that they were worse than the devil himself, for the latter never rejected the creation of God. But what do the heretics say?

> "They say that God has not created all these things."[2]
> "They call the devil creator of all things."[3]
> "They say that all things become by the will of the devil, and all things belong to him."[4]
> "If they had mind, they would not call the devil creator of the earth and of heaven."[5]

The story of creation of the world by Satanael, or by Satanael and God together, has taken so many forms in books and legends, that it is simply impossible to be traced in detail. But one thing is very obvious in this view of creation. In their effort to save God from creating the matter, the physical world which is evil, they have gone to another extremity of giving too great power to Satanael. And by giving such creative power and authority to the evil creator, means depriving and robbing the good God of his divine prerogatives.

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[1] Euthymius Zigabenus, op. cit., paragraph 7.

[2] Dr. Kiselkoff, p. 9.

[3] Ibid., p. 19.

[4] Ibid., p. 20.

[5] Ibid., p. 25.

But the various dualists are not unanimous on this point. Concerning the creative power of Satanael we distinguish at least three different schools of dualism.

A. The Bogomils of Constantinople and Asia Minor, although being very close to the Orthodox Church, secretly worshipped Satana as the creator of the material world, and paid great respect and fear to the demons, his helpers, because they possessed much power over the human individuals, which power even the good God could not take away.[1]

B. Some western Bogomils have gone too far as to believe that God and Satanael were brothers. And the sect of Malfred de Sommart maintained even a more extreme view, not only that God and Satanael were brothers, but that Satanael created God himself, his angels and the heaven.[2]

C. The moderate dualists were also divided into two divisions. One group maintained that there were from eternity two opposite principles - the good and the evil. This teaching was derived from Zoroastrianism and the eastern philosophy.[3] Pope Bogomil belonged to the other school which maintained that the evil originated from Satanael as fallen angel.[4]

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[1]Ivanov, op. cit., pp. 32, 33, 37.

[2]Klincharoff, op. cit., p. 48, quoted from R. Benoist, Histoire des Albigeois, etc., I (Paris, 1691), p. 45.

[3]Klincharoff, op. cit., p. 46.

[4]Steven Runciman, A History of First Bulgarian Empire (London: Bell & Sons, 1930), p. 193.
Zlatarsky, op. cit., p. 556.

At any rate, the God of the Bogomils was limited in his creative activities, and he often appeals for help and advice to Satanael. This fact is repeted many a time in the legends.

The most interest among all the creatures on the earth made by Satanael, however, is man. Man with his body, soul, and mind is the battle-field in the struggle between God and Satanael, between good and evil. It is of supreme importance to observe his place and significance in this universe.

CHAPTER IV

MAN AND HIS PLACE IN THE UNIVERSE

After losing his high position in the spiritual world, and after receiving permission of seven days (which are seven long periods of time), Satanael created the present material world, including stars, sun, moon, earth, the plants, the animals, and so on. But the most interesting creature he made was man.

1. The initiative of creation of man originated in Satanael.[1] Man is created after all other things from the lifeless earth. He was made in the image of his creator, Satanael,[2] and was composed of eight parts: the body from earth, the blood from the sea, the bones from stone, the soul from the wind, the mind from a cloud, the eyes from the sun and from the dew, the thought from the angelic speed, from laugh, and from cry.[3]

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[1] In the book of Enoch, written in the II century B.C. (Ivanov, op. cit., p. 186), in which the Bogomils partly believed, it is said that God commanded to his wisdom to make man out of seven elements (Ivanov, Ibid., p. 184). But according to some additional revelations given to the Bogomils, which are written in Tainata Kniga, the name of God in the book of Enoch was replaced with the name of Satanael. By this way the teaching of Enoch was harmonized with that of Tainata Kniga. This change has been made by some Bulgarian Bogomil during the XI or XII centuries. (Ivanov, pp. 72, 167, 188, 190, 191).

[2] According Tainata Kniga, Ivanov, Ibid., p. 63.

[3] This is according to information in the book of RAZUMNIK. But according to "Enoch" and "Tiberian Sea," man is composed out of seven elements. (Ivanov, pp. 184, 270, 308). In the Greek stories, man is composed only by four parts. (Ibid. 270, second footnote, see also pp. 309).

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[1] In the book of Enoch, written in the II century B.C. (Ivanov, op. cit., p. 109). In writes how Sabaoth personally be-stowed, it is said that God commanded to his wizards to make man out of seven elements (Ivanov, Ibid., p. 134). But accord-ing to some additional revelations given to the Bogomils, which are written in Talmud Bulga, the name of God in the book of Enoch was increased with that of Satanael. By this way the wording of Enoch was increased with that of Satanael. By this way the Bible charge has been made by some Bulgarian Bogomil during the XI or XII centuries. (Ivanov, pp. 72, 107, 188, 190, 191).

[2] Adopting Talmud Folge, Ivanov, Ibid., p. 63.

[3] This is according to information in the book of NESHIK. But according to "Anoch" and "Liberian Sea," man is composed out of seven elements. (Ivanov, pp. 134, 270, 308). In the Greek story, man is composed only by four parts. (Ibid., p. 270, second Problem, see also pp. 309).

2. Man without soul. In the beginning when man was composed out of the physical elements he was only a material being. But Satanael wished to make him a living subject with a soul within him. There are three stories or legends about finding the soul for man. One story says that two of the fallen angels voluntarily entered into the body of the new creature. According to the Asia Minor Bogomils, the devil has stolen the soul from God and with a great trouble tried to put it into the body of Adam. According a third story, Satanael tried to give life to Adam by his own breath but did not succeed. Thus he was compelled to turn to God for assistance. (See Legend No. 10[1]).

3. Man as a cooperative enterprise. To the appeal of Satanael God responded readily but on certain conditions. They decided that living men and the heaven belong to God, and dead men and the earth belong to the devil or Satanael.[2] In this case in order to enjoy a longer cohabitation with the living men, God extended their lives to 200 and to 300 years. But after all they had to die and to be subjects to Satanael. And furthermore, by the continuation of death, the subjects of Satanael one day will be far more than those of God. Accordingly, God decided to destroy the contract made with Satanael, but he did not know how to do it. On the other hand, the devil was not satisfied either. He wished to have

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[1]Ibid., p. 346.

[2]Ibid., Legends 1 and 10, pp. 329, 346.
Zlatarsky, op. cit., p. 552.

on his side the living people also. So he devised a plan of temptation. In this way the quarrel between God and the devil started. They quarrelled because in the creation of man the two parties had different purposes. Let us see what they were.

4. The purpose in the creation of man. God's purpose in creation of man is mentioned in the book of Enoch,[1] but later is developed in the book of Tiberian Sea,[2] in the Bosnian Legend of Creation[3] and in other legends. This divine purpose is refilling the places of the fallen angels with living men.[4] The purpose of Satanael in creation of man was to have more living beings on his side in order to oppose and overcome the divine position. The devil, being not satisfied with the dead souls alone, dared to tempt the living people and win them for his cause too. And he succeeded. The story of temptation and the fall of man is told in different ways and forms, in which Satanael appears sometimes in the body of a beautiful youth,[5] sometimes in the body of a snake,[6] or in

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[1]Ivanov, op. cit., p. 189.

[2]Ibid., pp. 302, 309.

[3]Ibid., p. 324.

[4]Zlatarsky, op. cit., p. 552.

[5]Ivanov, op. cit., In the story of Tainata Kniga, p. 63.

[6]Ibid., p. 63.

planting grapevine,[1] or by obtaining a written contract from Adam,[2] and so on. But at any rate, he won our first parents and by them their posterity became subjects to him also. A very small number of people remained loyal to God. Moreover, when the evil spirits, being embodied in the fallen men, heard of refilling their places in heaven, they, in order to regain their previous positions sometime in the future, began to marry the daughters of God's sons. By this intercourse a new race appeared on earth, the race of giants.[3] These giants caused great troubles to God and his sons and daughters.[4] They were destroyed in the time of the flood.[5]

From all these stories and legends of the creation of man, one would conclude that the whole matter turned in favor of the devil. And this is what the Bogomils believed. Man is born a sinner. He belongs to Satanael. Presbyter Kozma is right, then, in his observation. He writes:

> "How could they be loved, even when they suffer, when they call the devil creator of man and of all God's creatures?"[6]

But Euthymius Zigabenus goes further and describes in detail the Bogomil teaching concerning creation of the man by the devil:

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[1]Ivanov, op. cit., in the story of "Revelation of Baruch", p. 201.

[2]Ivanov, op. cit., in the story of "Adam and Eve," p. 224.

[3]Ivanov, op. cit., in the story of "Enoch", pp. 189, 190.

[4]Genesis, 6:4

[5]Zigabenus, par. 9.

[6]Dr. Kiselkoff, p. 19.

"Then he made the body of Adam from earth which he had mixed with water and caused him to stand erect. When the moisture ran down the right foot, and through the big toe, it disappeared in the ground and flowed spirally forming the body of a snake. Satanael then gathering his own spirit, blew life into the created body, but his own spirit through looseness, in the same way passed down the right foot and through the big toe, and flowing in spirals disappeared. Then whatever of the life-making thing came off the big toe became a snake and crept. For this reason, it became endowed with senses, and with understanding, because the breath of Satanael formed it into a soul. When the strange creator had seen this, and concluded that his labors were in vain, he petitioned the Good Father and begged him to send spirit from himself announcing that the man would be common, if vivified, and from his kind he could fill the empty places of the fallen angels in heaven. And God being kind, breathed and thus gave life to the creation of Satanael, which henceforth became man with a living soul which brightened his body; God also granted him many other favors. Then in the same way Eve was made with equally brillian splendor."[1]

5. Man's place in the universe according to the Bogomil theology, then, is not of great importance. He is not created in the image of God. Neither is he appointed "to dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle and over all the earth and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth," as is asserted in the Orthodox theology.

The Bogomil theology, although disagreeing with the official Christian teaching of that time, although mixed with so many mythical elements, yet brings the man nearer to his

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[1]Zigabenus, op. cit., par. 7.

natural position in the universe. By discovering some elements which compose the human body, the Bogomil teachers have found the beginning of the naturalistic and scientific trend of investigation; and by the finding of the influence of food upon the body and the mind, they tried to put the man under the real natural conditions for further development and perfection.

As a system of salvation and perfection of human life, both individual and social, The Bogomil teaching seems to trust more to personal orientation and determination than to the responsibility of external ecclesiastical organization as the Orthodox teaching does. In the Bogomil teaching we have personal efforts, control in the every day life, temperance, prayer, simplicity. While in the Orthodox teaching the salvation is placed in the Church by performing paid sacrifices and liturgical ceremonies.

CHAPTER V

JESUS CHRIST AS REDEEMER

The value of redemption rendered by Jesus would be properly appreciated in the light of the Bogomil teaching if we take in consideration the following points: 1) previous contracts made between God and Satanael, and between Adam and Satanael; 2) the way of destroying these contracts; 3) the nature of the incarnate Christ; 4) the battle between Jesus and the devil; and finally 5) the second coming of Christ.

1. The contract between God and Satanael was signed when they made man on a cooperative basis. Not long after that God saw that it was not good but he did not know how to destroy it. Furthermore, when Adam was driven out of the Paradise he was compelled to make a similar contract. One day Adam went to plough the ground. Satanael came to man and told him that he had no right to do so. He told man that he had a written contract that the earth belonged to him. After a considerable debating, Adam was compelled to sign the document. Because he was not certain as to the rights of Satanael, he put in the contract the following words: "To him who is the Lord of the earth, to him I will belong with my family."[1] But in giving this promise to Satanael, Adam believed that God, somehow, would provide for his redemption.

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[1] Ivanov, op. cit., p. 224.

2. God seeks the way to destroy the treaty with Satanael. According to dualistic stories, God was very much concerned as to how to destroy these written documents. There are stories telling how God learned to destroy his contract. Here is one of them:

> "He (God) wished to destroy the treaty but did not know how. For this reason he asked some of the old men like Abraham and Moses; he asked the angels, but nobody knew the secret. Then some one went to ask the devil. He asked the devil this way: 'Concerning that treaty with God, according which the living belong to him and the dead to you, how can God destroy it?' 'God himself cannot,' answered the devil, 'but his son can, if God bore a son, not like other men but from his own spirit.'"

When the messenger reported this to God, he was astonished how it is possible to have a son from his spirit. For this reason God personally asked the devil how to have a son. "Very easy," said the devil. "Take a bouquet of hysop, have it one night in your bosom, and then send it to the Virgin Mary."[1]

In another story it is said that God sent St. Peter to be a servant of the devil in order to learn the secret. He went there and served nine years.[2] Another story tells us that St. John had been 300 years with the devils with the purpose of finding out that same secret. He found it, indeed, but it was the same: "Unless God be incarnated, he cannot take it."[3]

The belief in the treaty between God and Satanael and between

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[1]Ivanov, op. cit., Legend 1, p. 331.

[2]Ibid., Legend 7, 339.

[3]Ibid. p. 343.

Adam and Satanael has been strong enough to penetrate from the people's legends into the dualistic books like "Adam and Eve,"[1] "The Tiberian Sea,"[2] and from there into different Church hymns, paintings, and artistic decorations.[3]

3. Incarnation of Jesus Christ and his nature. The idea about the treaty between God (or Adam) and the devil, is the main reason for sending Christ to earth. He had to come to destroy that treaty and liberate humanity. The treaty was written on a tablet of stone which was hidden in the bottom of the River Jordan, where Jesus was to be baptized. Some say it was hidden in hell. But even there it was reserved for Jesus to find and break it when he should go there to preach after the resurrection. So he was born 5500 years after the creation of the material world.[4] But knowing that he had to fight with the devil, knowing the devil's brutality and severity, Christ came with a body which was different from the bodies of men. It was real but not material. It was an ethereal body.[5] This view was held by the Bulgarian Bogomils, perhaps, on account of fear that if God has given him an ordinary body, he would not be able to pass the test.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 219, 223-227.

[2] Ibid., p. 309.

[3] Ibid., p. 225.

[4] Mishev, op. cit., p. 62; Zigabenus, op. cit. par. 4.

[5] Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, p. 784.

They did not believe in the miracles of Jesus as the other people believed. They were real but spiritual, not material.

We are going to omit all the stories about the miraculous birth of Jesus, the killing of thousands of children, the wonderful life of Jesus' youth, which all lead to one point, namely, that God saved him, that he might save others. Of greater significance to us is the matured life of Jesus Christ and especially his fight with the devil.

4. The battle between Jesus Christ and the devil. This battle is presented in the best dualistic fashion in the little booklet "The Debate of Jesus with the Devil."[1] According to this dualistic document, written long before the appearance of the Bogomil movement, a great debate was carried on between Jesus and Satanael. It took place on the Mount of Olives near Jerusalem. After fasting forty days, Jesus was ready to meet the devil who did not delay to appear. Jesus told him that he was the Son of God and came from heaven. The devil replied that Jesus then should go back to heaven, because this earth was his own. Then Jesus told him that he has come to destroy him. To this the devil answered that he will destroy Jesus, because he is older and stronger and his angels were more frightful than those of Jesus. Jesus, recognizing the temporal victory of his enemy showed him the end of his reign and the place where he would be kept. Then Jesus was crucified, rose and went to preach to the dead souls in

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[1]Ivanov, op. cit., pp. 248-257.

hell. He broke the tablet of the treaty and made the prisoners free. The great thing that Jesus accomplished in this battle, besides the liberation of the prisoners, was that he cut off the ending of the name of his enemy. From Satanael he became Satana, leaving off the little part "el," indicating divine kindred, of which he was now deprived.[1]

5. The second coming of Christ. But the absolute victory over the Satana, Christ will enjoy in the time of his second coming. The teaching about the second coming of Jesus Christ is found in the third part of Tainata Kniga of the Bogomils. The description of the coming and the Day of Judgement is very similar to the description given us in the twenty-fourth chapter of the gospel of Matthew. Satana, his angels, and unrepenting souls shall be thrown into the fire. The souls of the righteous shall go with Jesus and his angels, where he shall sit on his throne on the right hand of the Father. Then the material world shall disappear and the divine, spiritual order, which existed before the creation of the material world, shall be renewed. Then the righteous souls, and angels, with Jesus Christ and God, shall enjoy an eternal bliss.

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[1]Zigabenus, op. cit., par. 8.
Ivanov, op. cit., p. 27.
Zlatarsky, op. cit. p. 553.
Mishev, op. cit., p. 62.
Tzuhlev, op. cit., p. 685.

CHAPTER VI

THE PROBLEM OF EVIL

The problem of evil in the moral field is the most interesting and, at the same time, the most complicated one. In the theology of the Bulgarian Bogomils this same problem occupies the first place. With all their knowledge, they tried to explain the origin and nature of evil.

1. Did evil exist in the beginning? All writers and critics agree that the Bulgarian Bogomils were dualists. There is no doubt of that.[1] But what kind of dualists were they? To this question we must answer, at the beginning of our discussion, that there were two main groups of dualists, the absolute and moderate. The absolute dualists believed in two eternal forces in the universe, good and evil. These two forces have no beginning. They are independent of each other and equal. According to Zoroastrianism, Ormazd (Ahura-Mazda) is the prince of the kingdom of goodness and light. Ahriman is the prince of the kingdom of evil and darkness.[2] According to the teaching of Mani (? - 238), the founder of the Manichaeism, "The Kingdom of light and the

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[1] Spinka, op. cit., p. 64.
Zlatarsky, op. cit., p. 556.
Tzuhlev, op. cit., p. 685.
Mishev, op. cit., p. 60.
Klincharoff, op. cit., p. 46.

[2] Newman, A Manual of Church History, Vol. I, p. 36.

CHAPTER VI

THE PROBLEM OF EVIL

Kingdom of darkness with their rulers, stand eternally opposed to each other."[1] Marcion taught that the demiurge and his kingdom were apparently regarded as existing from eternity.[2]

But our Bogomils did not believe so. They believed in God and Satanael as two opposed powers; yet God is eternal, while Satanael is not. Although it is said that when God and Satanael were on good terms, their friendship continued for about 800,000 years. But what is that in comparison with eternity![3] Thus, the belief that Satanael one time was good and that one time in the future shall disappear, brings the Bulgarian Bogomils into the category of moderate dualists.[4] But here another question appears. If evil is not eternal, how came it into being?

2. The origin of evil. For the appearance of evil are shown several causes. Some are given in the Bogomil books, some are a part of the folklore legends.

A. The most important and the most sensible cause of the appearance of evil is the pride of Satanael. As we all know, he was appointed to a position next to God. But he "wished" to be equal to God. Here, in his "wish"or "will" is the

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[1]Ibid., p. 195.

[2]Ibid., p. 191.
Ivanov, op. cit., p. 96.

[3]Ivanov, Legend 1, p. 329.

[4]Zlatarsky, op. cit., p. 556.

origin of evil. He was at the right hand of God, but he was not satisfied with such a status-quo. (In Tainata Kniga)[1]. Therefore, wish combined with pride and selfishness produces evil.

B. There is another story which says that Satanael came out into existence from the shadow of God. (In the book Razumnik).[2]

C. In still another story in the book of "Tiberian Sea" it is said that when God came down to the sea and saw a boatman, he asked him who was he. The boatman (who was Satanael himself) answered that he was a god coming from the bottom of the sea, from the lower elements. This story suggests the idea that Satanael comes from the lower parts of the earth, as some of the Greek gods do. The fact that Satanael was a good swimmer suggests that conclusion. It also suggests the expression of Jesus: He that is of the earth is earthly, and speaketh of the earth. (John 3:31).

3. Personification. Thus the Bogomil thought found Satanael as the proper person in whom to embody the idea of evil. This embodiment or personification of evil in the course of time became very adequate solution of the problem. Thus, Satanael was born about 805,500 years ago. After enjoying friendship with God for about 800,000 years, pride came into his heart, he fell, still having at the end of his name the "el,"

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[1] Ivanov, op. cit., pp. 25, 62, 65.
Mishev, op. cit., p. 61.
Tzuhlev, op. cit., p. 685.

[2] Legend 6, Ivanov, op. cit., pp. 270, 337.

indicating his creative ability and the relationship with God. Then he created the material world, But 5,500 after the creation of the world and man, Jesus was born. He fought with Satanael, destroying all treaties made with God and Adam, and deprived him of the creative power by cutting from his name the part of "el." In the second coming of Jesus Christ, Satana will be destroyed absolutely, and evil will disappear forever.

This kind of solution of the problem of evil separates the Bulgarian dualists from the absolute dualism, which leads to disappointment and pessimism. But this solution of the problem has the advantage of giving enough relief to the mind and heart of man by portraying the victory of good over evil.

4. The permanent cause of evil. The solution of the problem of evil made by our moderate dualists would remain unchangeable in this form, if they were correct in the calculatinn of the years of friendship between God and Satanael, creation of the world, and so on. But what if they were not? There are some facts recognized by the moderate dualists, which must be taken into consideration, that we may be assured that after the destruction of Satana in the second coming of Jesus, there will remain no other permanent cause of evil.

A. We are informed by the book of "Enoch," that"when Adam was made, to him had been given free wil, and had been shown the two ways of life, the way of light and good, and

the way of darkness and evil."[1] This revelation given to Enoch indicates the importance of some relations of necessity which we ourselves find in our life. As we find necessary the use of the terms: east, west, south, north, below and above in our consciousness of space, or, as we find necessary the use of the terms of past, present and future in our consciousness of time, so it is necessary to use the terms of good and evil in the field of our moral consciousness. To Adam were given, therefore, two ways of life by necessity.

B. This idea of necessity is more obvious in the legend in which Satanael was made out of the shadow of God. This story is mentioned in the book of "The Razumnik" also.[2] God made Satanael out of his shadow and called him "brother." The brotherhood between God and Satanael is mentioned in many places. But the brotherhood between Satanael and Jesus is better settled and more widely recognized. If Satanael is made out of the shadow of God, then, by necessity, he is only a reflection or the negative side of God. The evil, then, will be the shadow or the negative side of good. In the realm of this idea of relationship by necessity between good and evil, as two poles of one reality, one would doubt whether the moderate dualist can assure us that by destroying Satana, the struggle with evil is finished. Who can assure us that from that mysterious shadow of God some time would not arise, say, the "son" or the "cousin" of Satana? Or, who can assure

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[1] Ibid., "Enoch," pp. 184-185.

[2] Ibid., "The Razumnik," question 15, pp. 260,270.

us that, after the return of the whole universe into that idea form, a vain pride will not enter into the heart of somebody else?

In this case not only the position of the moderate dualist, but that of the Orthodox Christian as well, needs a very cautious guard against the invasion of the absolute dualist.

5. Evil and social conditions. We have mentioned in the previous two paragraphs that some suggestions like these of the free will of Adam and the shadow of God indicate a more permanent source of evil. But there is a more visible and concrete representative of Satanael which the Bogomils find in the existence of the social order - the church and the state. The entire Bogomil system is arranged to counteract against the present social order, which is the producer and maintainer of evil. Evil will continue as long as this order continues. The only effective cure, therefore, is rejecting this order, individually and collectively, and following the prince of life, Jesus Christ. As he denied the world, so must every true Christian do. Bogomilism in its totality, including its theology, was a product of the political, economic, religious, philosophical, and psychological conditions of the Byzantine empire.[1] The character of the Bogomil theology, including its concepts of good and evil, were determined by the despotism and severity of the official church and state, then controlling the social conditions.

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[1]Zlatarsky, op. cit., p. 556.

Living in social conditions controlled by such forces of evil, the Bogomils found that the solution was by direct personal opposition. They created a new philosophy of life for spiritual orientation and took a new direction in every day life. Evil will disappear from life when everybody drives it away from himself. ("Resist the devil, and he will fly from you," James 4:7).

That the organization of the church and the plitical state were treated as representatives of the evil force, will become more clear in the following discussion, as we consider the Bogomil interpretation of the Scriptures.

CHAPTER VII

INTERPRETATIONS OF THE SCRIPTURES

For their guidance of education, debating, propaganda and all other purposes the Bogomils used various kinds of books and literature, which we shall investigate under the following four classes: 1) their own compositions; 2) some books of the Apocrypha; 3) the New Testament, and 4) the Old Testament. For every one of these four classes they had their way or method of interpretation.

1. The Books of the Bogomils. Because most of the preserved books of the Bogomils were anonymous or mixed with the Apocrypha, there was no special class or group of "Bogomil" books known to the modern scholars. Even when they were listed among the forbidden books of the heretics, as it is with the list of the "Pogodinsky Nomocanon" from the fourteenth century and the Russian list of the sixteenth century, and others, there is no separate list of such literature.[1] All these books were treated together as heretical. The recent research, however, discovers that the names of Bogomil leaders appear in these lists of the forbidden books. Therefore, many of the leaders of the movement were authors of books.

The same fact is affirmed by the Svnodik Tsarya Borila, which gives many names of Bogomils as authors.

There were Bogomil books, therefore, par excellence. And such books were the following: "Tainata Kniga," "The Katharsky

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[1]Ivanov, op. cit., p. 52; Klincharoff, op. cit., p. 83.

Trebnik," and other books of older origin, but adapted and adjusted to Meir teaching like "The Vision of Isaiah," "The Razumnik," and others.

Tainata Kniga seems to be the criterion of spiritual light and interpretation of all other books and groups of books. This book originated somewhere in the East, was much read and spread over in Bulgaria, and in about the twelfth century was brought to the Lombardian church in Italy by bishop Nazarius.[1] Upon this book was focused the attention of all Bogomil churches. The understanding of this book was the primary task of every "perfect." It did not depend upon the understanding of the gospels; on the contrary, understanding and interpretation of the gospels and all other books depended upon the interpretation of Tainata Kniga. The other books were accessible to the ordinary members of the Bogomil community, while this book was kept secretly by the "perfect" members. Within the pages of Tainata Kniga were hidden the most secret dogmas and teachings of the sect. It was the catechism of their faith nd religion. From here the devoted leaders were drawing their inspiration and enthusiasm.

In the "Katharsky Trebnik" there were given all kinds of instruction concerning the spiritual life of the members.

Prof. Ivanov divides the book into five parts; They are: 1) service; 2) receiving new members; 3) spiritual baptism - dedication or passing of a member from the ordinary membership

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[1]Mishev, op. cit., p. 89; Ivanov, op. cit. p. 51.

into the category of the "perfect;" 4) prayers for all occasions, and 5) spiritual baptism of the sick believers.[1]

The main fact we like to stress here is that the Bogomil books, combined with the dualistic stories and legends, circulating among the heretical groups, created such atmosphere and cultivated such spirit, that opposed the external organization of the Orthodox church and the social order. Influence and books, in order ȶ be allowed to penetrate into those circles, had to be reinterpretated, changed, and readjusted to the sect for further usage by ħeir movement. Such was the case with many of the apocryphal books.

2. The Apocrypha. Next to this group stand some books of the Apocrypha. Such books were: The book of Enoch, the Vision of Isaiah, Adam and Eve, the Revelation of Baruch, Razumnik, the Tiberian Sea, the Debate of Jesus with the Devil, the Infancy of Jesus and many others. Many of these books were written long time before the appearance of the Bogomil movement, but translated from Hebrew, Greek, or other languages, modified and used for information or interpretation of the movement. Thus, the apocryphal books of the Old Testament were used to affirm the state of the divine order before the ȼreation of the physical world, because the heroes of these books were called to heaven, received their revelations, and were sent back to the earth to tell the story to the living people. From such sources the Bogomils

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[1]Ivanov, op. cit., p. 115.

learned that Satanael created the world, sent the law to Moses, and so on. The apocryphal books written during the Christian era had Christian elements, like debating of Jesus with the devil, temptation of Jesus, his second coming and the like.

The books of the Old Testament Apocrypha, as well as these of the New, were used to enforce the belief of the dualistic Bogomils and to give more power to their persuasion. These apocryphal books, therefore, in the light of this dualistic interpretation, contributed their part to the attitude of the Bogomil toward the whole Bible.

3. Interpretation of the New Testament. The Bulgarian Bogomils believed thoroughly in the four canonical gospels. This can be verified by many sources. Presbyter Kozma, Euthymius Zigabenus, and others affirm that fact. It is said especially about the gospel of John, that it was a very important book to the Bogomils, and they always carried it. There were passages of this gospel that were placed in the Tainata Kniga and in the Katharsky Trebnik. They insisted even, that this same John is the author of the Tainata Kniga itself.

But they had their own interpretation of the New Testament. Perhaps they may have had commentaries of the whole New Testament, or of some of the gospels.[1] The main characteristic of their interpretation is spirituality. They interpreted the books of the New Testament in their spiritual sense, that is, figuratively. They pretended that to them only was given the

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[1]Ivanov, op. cit., p. 108.

key to interpret and understand the Scriptures. Upon this point Zigabenus writes:

> "And again it was written that the voice of the Lord spoke thus: 'The way of salvation is this: With devices and trickery answer to the faith of those who force you, and thus being saved from their danger and death,' to this they add: 'Whatsoever they did you, these do,' but in truth when interpreted means: 'Do not yet after their works,' for the Lord spoke correctly to the disciples, but to the faithless, he spoke in parables, so that the faithless may not see the interpretation which is hidden in our hearts, and hearing they will not hear, and thus name the parable a trickery and disillusionment."[1]

Then Zigabenus goes further to say how they interpreted many passages in the books of the New Testament by changing their correct meaning.[2]

The figurative method of interpretation of the Bible employed by the Bogomils, is not new. But in their interpretation they gave it a new meaning. And this they did in order to reconcile the teaching of the New Testament with their dualistic teaching. By this method of interpretation our dualists entered into the teaching of the New Testament as teachers and masters, pretending that the correct interpretation is preserved only by them.

4. Interpretation of the Old Testament. As we said, the entire Old Testament was rejected by the Bulgarian reformers. This opposition to the Old Testament, especially to the books of Moses, was the main characteristic of the Manichaeans in

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[1] Zigabenus, op. cit., par. 21.

[2] Ibid., paragraphs 27, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 41, 43, 49, 51 and 52.

the early Christian era, and it was repeated by the Bogomils in distinction from Orthodox Christianity. When the Orthodox Christian, seeing in the Old Testament a prophecy concerning Jesus, would quote verses like these : "If ye believe not his writings (the writings of Moses), how shall ye believe my words" (John 5:36)? To this the heretic would answer: "This passage is not correct. Otherwise, Jesus would not have said: 'All that ever came before me are thieves and robbers'". (John 10:8). If the Orthodox would quote the words of Jesus in Matt. 5:17, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets." To this the Bogomil would reply that these words were not written by Matthew, because it is said about him in the same gospel: "And as Jesus passed forth from thence, he saw a man named Matthew sitting at the receipt of custom: and he saith unto him, Follow me. And he arose and followed him." (Matt. 9:9*.

The rejection of the Old Testament books were not based on the dialectic play of the words only. There were some deeper reasons. The idea of God in the Old Testament did not correspond to the idea of Jesus' God, according to these nonconformist Christians. The god of the Old Testament was the masked Satanael, not the true God. That god was the god of the official church and the state. Therefore, his books were rejected. But this attitude of the dualists was not common to all of them, and it was not held with the same intensity during the whole period of their history. At the beginning of the movement they were more conservative, while later, during about

the thirteenth century, they became more liberal and accepted some books like the Psalms and others.

There was a time when even the orthodox church had its reserved opinion toward the Jewish idea of God,[1] and the validity of the Old Testament. The story of reconciliation of the Jewish idea of God with that of Jesus is a long process. But while the church was making that reconciliation, the sectarians did not care about it.

Taking into consideration then 1) the influence of the Apocrypha; 2) national-Jewish character of the books of the Old Testament; 3) the narrow and limited concept of God, and others, we think that there is sufficient reason to justify rejecting the Old Testament by the Bogomils, as they did it.

We have discussed hitherto what the Bogomils believe concerning God, Christ, Holy Spirit, creation of the world, man, evil and the Scriptures. This was somehow the internal side of their dogmatic theology. In the following part of our discussion we are going to observe the external side, the ecclesiastical side, of the same theology.

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[1] A. C. McGiffert, The God of the Early Christians, p. 21.

I

PART II - ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH

CHAPTER I

THE CHURCH

The material on church in our discussion naturally falls into two divisions. The first division covers the opinion of the Bogomils about the Orthodox church, and why they rejected it. The second division will cover the concept of their own church.

1. The Bogomil attitude toward the Orthodox church. The Greek Orthodox church in the time of the Bogomil movement made the impression of a rich institution. As a state institution, the church had power, authority, and wealth. The church possessed buildings well decorated with the cross and icons, with silver and gold, and claimed the distinction that it was the home of Christian service and worship. But this distinction of the church, and the organization back of it, focused the attention of the Bogomil, taking the church as a typical representative of the Byzantine society and the middle age social order. And they were not far from the truth. The state has chosen the church as the main medium for transplanting its ideas and culture. The Orthodox church as the living body of Jesus Christ, gave the final approval and blessing upon all state enterprises.

The main attacks of the dualist against the official church were made on the ground of comparison of this official

church with the church described in the pages of the New Testament. The form of the Christian church in the first century, as we know it from the New Testament, of course, had not the form of the tenth or twelfth century church. Whether Jesus would approve of the Orthodox church of the twelfth century, is another question, but the Bogomils did not approve of it. The comparison was vivid, and the controversy severe. How the Bogomils criticized the official church, becomes obvious from the quotations of many authors. Presbyter Kozma informs us that they were against the cross, against the icons, and the entire system of the church.[1] Zigabenus gives us information about other assaults:

> "They say that the demons dwell in the sacred church, each one is stationed according to his rank and power. And again they choose the notorious Satan as the one abiding in the temple at Jerusalem, and that after its destruction he was dispatched to the excellent and renowned house of the Wisdom of God, found in the queen of all the cities."[2]

After the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem they believed the devil came to St. Sophia in Constantinople.[3] In their criticism the Bogomils did not spare even the faithful servants in the Orthodox church. So, Zigabenus continues:

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[1] Presbyter Kozma, Beseda protiv Bogomilits (Sofia, 1934)
Klincharoff, op. cit., par. 2, 4, 7, 10, 12, 16, 18.

[2] Zigabenus, op. cit., par. 18.

[3] Mishev, op. cit., p. 63.
Tzuhlev, op. cit., p. 691.

"They compare our faithful ones to the Pharisses and Sadducees, who were baptized by Joh. Oh! impudence! Besides this they slander us and call us children of snakes, produced by the ssed of the snake which had intercourse with Eve, as it has been noted, and advise us not to make it hard as this was truly spoken by John the Baptist."[1]

In short, "the Bogomils rejected the historic Christian church in all its branches as false, and with it rejected its orders, rites, and doctrines. They ridiculed the reverence paid to the cross on the ground that since it represented the tree on which Jesus had been crucified, it should by all means be held in horror and detestation as an instrument of murder."[2]

2. The Bogomil church. The Bulgarian dualist tried to make his church in form like that of the first century, without any decoration, inside or outside. From the Snodik Tsarya Borila we understand that the Bogomils called their temple an ordinary house.[3] This was made logically to correspond to their ecclesiastical organization. What was their church organization? To this question prof. Will S. Monroe answers thus: "Their church organization was purely congregational in character."[4]

All ceremonies, formalities, liturgy, sacraments, eucharist, long prayers, prayers to the saints, and so on, were omitted and the services were reduced to simple instructive preaching. But the Bogomils believed that they were the true representatives of the living body of Christ. They pretended that Christ has

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[1]Zigabenus, op. cit., p. 31.

[2]Spinka, op. cit., p. 65.

[3]Tzuhlev, op. cit., p.1070.

[4]"Bulgaria and Her People" p. 18.

left the Orthodox church and has come to their spiritual organization. Zigabenus writes:

> "And Jesus," they say "having left Nazareth, came and dwelt in Capernaum." They compare us to Nazareth, and themselves to Capernaum. "And now," they say "Jesus lives with them, having left our Church."[1]

The spirit of the Bogomil church, no doubt, was entirely different from the spirit of the Orthodox church. Here the spiritual temperature was warmer, the brotherhood closer, and the readiness for sacrifice greater. This characteristic will be seen clearer in the following chapter.

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[1]Zigabenus, op. cit., par. 94 (28)

CHAPTER II

SPIRITUAL LIFE, PRAYER AND WORSHIP

1. We know more about the negative side of the life of our Bogomils than of the positive. What we know is transmitted to us by the writings of their enemies, which were not interested so much in the positive side. But even in such a case we can see in these documents something positive and constructive. We are especially interested here in the spiritual life, the meaning of prayer and the form of worship. Presbyter Kozma protests that they do not make the sign of the cross and that they pronounce only one prayer. Zigabenus repeats the same statement. He writes:

> "They regard as prayer only the one, the Lord taught in the gospels, for our example: 'Our Father,' and the rest. And they namely, pray only this one seven times during the day and five during the night. Whenever they are at prayer, they say this prayer, some of them ten times kneeling, others five times ten, and the rest more or fewer. And all other prayers they dishonor by calling them babbling."[1]

In another place the same author writes:

> "'But when ye pray', they say, 'enter in your closet. closet they speak of as being the mind, and from this saying they are led to preach that no one should pray in churches."[2]

From these quotations, and other similar to them, we can judge that they were very prayerful people, but used only one one prayer.

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[1] Zigabenus, op. cit., par. 19.

[2] Ibid., 42.

2. The Prayer "Our Father." All proofs lead us to believe that the Bogomils used almost entirely one prayer, and that was the Lord's Prayer. They did that on the basis of Jesus' instruction given in the gospel of Matthew 6:7-9, where he says:

> "But when ye pray, use not vain repetition, as the heathen do, for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking. Be not ye, therefore, like unto them: for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him. After this manner, therefore, pray ye: Our Father..."

This prayer they repeated over and over again in all their services. At the Bulgarian Church Council in Turnovo in February, 1211, among other reasons for which the Bogomils were anathematized was presented this one, that they pray only the "Lord's Prayer" and the other prayers of the Orthodox church they reckoned useless.[1] In case of a sick believer, or in their spiritual baptism, we find that they have used some other short prayers included in their books of instructions.

3. Temperance and Fasting. Other side of the spiritual life of the Bogomils reveals that they were a people of fasting and temperance. It seems that in their lives the mind and the will had more dominion over the material body than the physical body with its needs over the mind and the will. They did not use wine or any alcholic drink, neither ate any meat. The perfect Bogomils did not eat even eggs or butter. Some fasted two times in the week, while others even three

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[1] Ivanov, op. cit., p. 107.

times, "Every week on Monday, Wednesday and Friday they advised to fast until nine o'clock."[1] Taking the body as creation of Santanael, while the soul came from God, they believed that these two parts were at constant war between themselves.[2] The "perfect" Bogomils were careful not to crush any plant or to kill any animal, believing that in them dwells a part of God, or a soul of some sinner of previous life, now incarnated in the organism of the plant or animal.[3]

4. Reading and knowing the Scriptures. Compared with the Orthodox Christians the Bogomils were better readers of the sacred Scriptures. They carried the gospels everywhere and on many occasions quoted verses from them. They had their remarks and footnotes under some verses, containing their own understanding and interpretation. It was an unpleasant matter for some Orthodox to converse with a Bogomil. They were deeply persuaded and quite unchangeable in their belief. The Greek writer, Zigabenus, mentions that a discussion with them was a loss of time and labor.[4] This reading of the sacred writings was the main source of the Bogomil spiritual life. But much reading does not mean more balanced life. The constant reading does not guarantee a rounded understanding of

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[1]Zigabenus, op. cit., par. 25.

[2]Ivanov, op. cit., p. 27.

[3]Ibid., p. 28.

[4]Zigabenus, op. cit., par. 27.

life. The extreme spirituality may bring a man to the extremity of fanaticism. And, such was the case, in some instances, with our Bogomils.

5. Worship. The spiritual discipline and the order of worship, as well as of other collective performances of the sect, are given in so called "Katharsky Trebnik," (Handbook), which we shall discuss in the following several points.

A. Meetings in the church. Usually one of the elders presided over the meeting in the church, and opened the service with words like these: "Let us bow to God and confess all our sins, made before the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, before the gospels and the apostles, that by prayer and faith, through the salvation of all honored Christians, through the blessed dead fathers and here gathered brothers, and before Thee, O, Holy Father, that we may receive forgiveness for all we have sinned. Bless us and spare us!"

"For many are our sins, by which we offend God day and night willingly and unwillingly, more with our will, which the evil spirits inject in our flesh, with which we are clothed. Bless us and spare us!"

"We meet the people of the world. With them we speak, eat and do sin in many things. By this we harm our brothers and our souls. Bless us and spare us!"[1]

Such was the expression of the leader and such were the meetings of the Bulgarian Bogomils, which resemble the meet-

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[1] Ivanov, op. cit., pp. 118-119.

ings of modern Protestant churches.

B. Prayers for all occasion. The spiritual life of the Bogomil embraced the total life of the individual. So, when he went to a dangerous place, or went on horseback, or on a boat, or entered a city, or passed through a narrow bridge, he pronounced a definite prayer, which had been formulated for each of these occasions.

C. Spiritual baptism of a sick believer. If the Christians to whom the service in the church was intrusted were informed about some sick believer, they went and asked him in secret about his attitude toward the church since his conversion. If he owed something to somebody or to the church, he must pay it, otherwise he would not be baptized. After a thorough examination, they asked him whether he wished to obey all the rules given him by God, the brothers and the church. If he replied "yes," then the sick was dressed with a shirt and tights; the elder put the gospel on his head and pronounced several prayers. If the sick man died, everything was given to the church. If he recovered, he was instructed further and remained in the Bogomil order.[1]

Of greater significance is the acceptance of new believers and the spiritual baptism, or promotion of a regular member to the rank of "perfection."

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[1]Ibid., p. 128.

CHAPTER III

MEMBERSHIP, ORDINARY AND "PERFECT"

The Bogomil community was composed of members of two ranks; the ordinary and the "perfect." The first rank was in the majority, while the perfect was of very limited number. During the thirteenth century the ordinary members numbered several hundred thousands, the perfect numbered only some four thousand members.[1] To be a member of the Bogomil church or community one must give testimony, then pass an examination and be accepted or initiated. They had a very interesting ceremony for this purpose.

1. Initiation to the Bogomil membership. After hearing certain instructions, for before accepting a person as a member, Zigabenus informs us, the Bogomils taught him,[2] the candidate had to pass a very important step - the initiation. The rite consisted of the following: when the Christians agreed to the dedication of a candidate they washed their hands. All the believers in the congregation did the same thing. Then one of the "good people," (such was the name of the "perfect,") usually next to the elder (ancia), bowed three times to the elder, placed a table, then bowed again;

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[1] Mishev, op. cit., p. 65.

[2] Zigabenus, op. cit., par. 26. (In the beginning, they truly teach the newcomers, commanding them to believe in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, and acknowledge Christ as having been resurrected, and as having given the holy apostles the sacred gospel; they urge them to keep the evangelical commands, and pray, and fast, to be pure from every impurity, and to live in poverty, and to forbear wrong, to be humble, to be truthful and to love each other, and in everything to be truly benevolent."

he brought a table cloth, bowed three times again; brought the gospel and put it on the table, then said; "Bless us and spare us." Now the elder delivered a sermon to the candidate, and if his name happened to be Peter, the elder spoke thus:

"Peter, you must know, that when you are in the divine church, you are before God, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, because church means assembly, and there where the true Christians are, there is God, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, as it is shown in the divine writings. For Christ has said in the gospel of Matthews (18:20): "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." And in the gospel of St. John (14:23) it is said: "If a man loves me, he will keep my words; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." And St. Paul says in the Second Epistole to the Corinthians (6:16-18): "Ye are the temple of the living God; as God hath said through Isaiah, 'I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore, come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, a nd will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty!" And in another place (II Cor. 13:3) he says: "Ye seek a proof of Christ speaking in me." And in the First Epistle to Timothy (3:14-15) he says: "These things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly: but if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth." The same apostle

told the Hebrews (3:6): "But Christ is a son over his own house; whose house are we." That the Holy Spirit is with the faithful to Jesus Christ, it is shown by Christ in the gospel of John (14:15-18): "If ye love me, keep my commandments. And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you forever; even the Spirit of truth; whom the world cannot redeive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him: but ye know him; for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you. I will not leave you comfortless: I will come to you." In the gospel of Matthew he says (28:20): "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." And St. Paul speaks in the First Corinthians (3:16-17): "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy; for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are." Christ shows this also in Matthew (10:20): "For it is not yet that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you." And St. John says in his epistle (I John 4:13): "Hereby know we that we dwell in him, and he in us, because he has given us of his Spirit." And St. Paul says to the Galatians (4:6): "And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba Father," and so on....

"From this you must understand that the step you now make before the sons of Jesus Christ affirm the faith and the teaching of the God's church as the divine writings assist us to understand..... You are now before the disciples of Jesus

Christ, sitting in a place where spiritually is present the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, that you may receive this holy devotion, so that your service and prayer be heard from our Holy Father." Then the elder recited "Our Father" - which the new disciple repeated.[1]

After the prayer was finished, the elder said: "We deliver this holy prayer to you from God, from us and from the church, and to have power to pray during all your life." Then the believer answered: "I do accept it from God, you and the church." Then followed the melioramentum.

This ceremony resembles our modern ordination of a minister or deacon. But still more interesting is the ceremony of the promotion of a believer from the ordinary membership to the rank of "perfection."

2. The Spiritual baptism. The Bogomils omitted the baptism with water. They elaborated the spiritual baptism, which is a second, higher, step of devotion to a still more spiritual and moral consecration (consolamentum). The rite resembles that of accepting a new member, with the difference that here the ceremony is more serious, the authority of the group as a church is shown more vividly, the sermon is composed of the strongest verses of the gospels and all "perfect" members participate in the service. The ceremony took the following order. The leader said:

"Peter, you wish to receive the spiritual baptism by

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[1]Ivanov, op. cit., p. 120.

which the Holy Spirit is given to the church, by prayer and by the laying of hands of the "good people" (the "perfect"). To this baptism our Lord Jesus Christ says in the gospel of St. Matthew (28:19-20) to his disciples: "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit : teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you." And in the gospel of St. Mark (16:15) he says: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." And John the Baptist spoke about this baptism, saying (John 1:26-27; Matt. 3:11): "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance: but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire."

"This baptism by laying hand has been established by Jesus Christ, as we are informed by the Scriptures (Mark 16: 18; Acts 9: 17-18; 8:14-17)."

"This holy baptism, by which the Holy Spirit is given, the divine church has kept since the time of the apostles. It has been delivered by "good people" to "good people" up to the present day, and the church will do it to the end of the world."

"You must know that to the church is given the authority to bind and to loose (Matt. 16: 19); to remit and to retain sin (John 20:21-23); to heal sick, clean the lepers, raise the dead, cast our devils (Matt. 10:8). In the gospel of St. John (14:12) Jesus says: "He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do."

"And, if you wish to receive such authority and power, you must keep all the commandments of Christ and the New Testament. Know that he has commanded that man shall not commit adultery, nor kill, nor lie, nor use any oath, nor steal, nor do to others what he does not wish others to do to him, to forgive him that does evil, to love his enemies."

To this the candidate to baptism answered: "I have the will to do this; pray to God for me, that he may give me strength." At this time one of the "good people" stood up with the candidate and appealed to the elder, saying: "Spare us, good Christians, We beg you, in the love of God, to intrust this friend of ours with a good thing, which God has given you." Then the candidate made his bow (melioramentum) and said: "Spare us. For all sins which I have done, or said, or thought I beg forgiveness from God, the church and all of you." To this all the Christians answered: "From God, from us and the church be thou forgiven. We will pray to God to forgive you." Then the elder took the book, laid it on the candidate's head, and all other "good people" laid their right hand upon his head and said: "Spare us" and "Let us bow" and pronounce:: "Holy Father, accept thy servant in thy righteousness and send thy mercy and thy Holy Spirit upon him." Then the elder recited a secret prayer (la sezena) very softly,and said three times "Let us bow" with a louder voice. Then, after two or three short prayers, all present kissed each other and the ceremony was over.[1]

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[1] Zigabenus, op. cit., par. 23.

The function of this rite was to create that religious-psychological atmosphere through which the soul of the Bogomil must pass in order to be promoted to the spiritual level, on which the older members of the sect liked to place him; these were the "perfect Bogomils." From this point they saw God, World, man; in other words, they saw reality in an entirely different light, which the rest of the people could not see. The perfect Bogomils by this kind of experience became the custodians of religious power and Christian dogmas. Having passed such initiation and experience, they came to the point of auto-suggestion that they could see God, not in a dream but in a vision. The Holy Spirit dwells in them; they are the real theotokos, the mother of God, that is, God is in their hearts and minds. A theology like this, and religious experiences like these made the "perfect" Bogomils very different people from the rest of the Orthodox population, in spite of their names, and costume which resembled the Orthodox monks and priests.

This idea of perfection is visiting humanity from time to time, but never has been so heartily welcomed and chosen as the goal of life as in the case of the Bogomils. They understood that the state, church, gospel and everything else must be used as a means, while the perfection of personality must be the supreme goal of life. Maybe, their results were not sufficient, but the purpose was right. To them "The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath."

CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIAL ORDER

The Bogomil theology was sufficiently powerful to determine the attitude of the heretic not only toward the church but toward the state as well. This theology had the power to control the entire life of the person, beginning with the menu of his breakfast, telling him what to eat and drink, and ending with his behavior toward the wide large social order. As the primary persuasion of the Bogomil was that the church and the state were the instruments of Satanael, and therefore hostile to God and his true church. They were subjects of attach and fight. Here are several points of importance.

1. Personal life of the Bogomil was strictly individualistic, - self-centered. The main purpose of life was personal, spiritual perfection, a purpose to be obtained at the expense of family and social life. The physical and material body, being a creation of the devil, as a temporal thing has no significance. The perfect Bogomil was not much interested in the future generation on the earth. As a group, however, they did some missionary work, travelling from place to place, and preached their gospel of world-rejection and other-worldliness.[1]

2. The family of the Bogomil was not a strong social unit as it was the case with the Orthodox, for example. The "perfect" did not marry, and "all those who married, could - when-

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[1]Spinka, op. cit., p. 66.

ever one of the sides, especially the husband, wished it - annul it."[1] To take this attitude toward the family life the Bogomils assured themselves theologically by the words of the New Testament where it is said by apostle Paul: "The children of the flesh are not the children of God," (Rom.9:8) and the words of Jesus when he says: "The children of this world marry and are given in marriage; but they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage, neither can they die any more: for they are equal unto angels; and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection." (Luk. 20:34-36)[2] The Bogomils hated children believing that they were the product of the devil.[3]

3. The slavery of the established contemporary social order was a main point against which the activity of the Bogomils was directed. They taught the slave not to obey, not to work to his master and to try to liberate himself. According to the belief of some of the southern Slavs, the slave of this world would be a slave in the other world too.[4] Among the Slavs the institution of slavery was loose and weak, although according to Byzantine laws the slave was a sure property of the master.[5] This condition of the relations,

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[1]Mishev, op. cit., 63.

[2]Klincharoff, op. cit., p. 54.

[3]Zlatarsky, op. cit., p. 54.

[4]Prof. N. P. Blagoev, Besedata na Presbyter Kozma (Sofia, 1923), p. 60.

[5]Blagoev, Pravni i sotsialni vuzgledi na Bogomilite (Sofia, 1919), p. 36.

however, gave a great opportunity to the Bogomils to preach successfully their anti-slavery gospel among the Slav population.

4. Against the kings and the state. We know they opposed the kings, the rich, the boyards, war, and as a whole the entire social order, but we possess little description as to how they reacted. In this case, one of the modern historians writes:

> "As for the protest of the Bogomils against social and political oppression and injustice, Cosmas is disappointingly and exasperatingly brief in describing it. He merely remarks that 'they teach their own people not to obey their masters; they blaspheme the wealthy, hate their father (according to another reading, the tear), ridicule the elders, condemn the nobles, regard as vile in the sight of God those who serve the tear, and forbid all slaves to obey their masters!"[1]

This short testimony of Kozma is enough to reveal to us the nature and quality of their protest. This protest was directed against a system which once pretended to lead humanity to a better order, and in the name of Christianity to bring the Kingdom of God on the earth, but now was utterly corrupted.[2]

It is no mystery, then, that this "Bulgarian national movement was directed against Orthodox Christianity, which was regarded as a Greek product allied with the prevailing politi-

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[1] Spinka, op. cit., p. 66

[2] This corrupted character of the Byzantine social order, including the state and ecclesiastical authorities, is partly described in a MS from XI-XII century now preserved in the library of Munich, and printed by Hergenrother, - Photius Patr. von Constantinop., t.III, pp. 838-9. This description must

cal and social system inimical to the true interests of the people."[1] All the oppressed masses were fighting against this corrupted social order. But the Bogomil movement was pushed to the front by various conditions, and left behind it long and deep traces.

5. The Bogomil social order. This chapter would not be completed if we were not to mention the order about which the Bogomils were fighting for. To criticize, to fight and to destroy a given system or social order is one thing, but to describe and to present the form of a new order that should take its place, is another thing. The idea of the social order of our Bogomils was obscured and situated in the realm of perfect religious idealism. They had to live in this world by separating themselves from the rest of the people. Thus they would wait for the coming of the Lord from the clouds. They had no definite social program. They did not believe this corrupted world would be changed by t heir sermons. Their order would come in a divine catastrophic way. The believers would be saved while the wicked and the sinners would be punished.

The common mistake of almost all reformers is to seek for

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be of some significance, since it is translated into the modern Bulgarian even by a very conservative writer, Mr. Dimiter Nikoloff Tzuhleff, op. cit., pp. 1022-23. According to this document the Byzantine social, political and ecclesiastical life had fallen morally below the level even of the so called "barbarian" nations.

[1]Spinka, The Bogomils, Precursors of the Albigenses, Crozer Quarterly, Vol. X, No 1, (Jan. 1933), pp. 13-14.

a pattern of their order in the past. Such is the case of the Bogomils. If we try to find any pattern for their order, that would be the Christian church of the first century, because the church of that time, when it was only a sect, resembled the Bulgarian Bogomil movement. But it is impossible to turn the church to that stage again, as it is impossible for a matured man to wear his boyhood's clothes. Instead, we have to look forward the future for our patterns. The form that will replace the present one, is in the future. So it was in the case with Byzantine empire.

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